A LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT

IN LONDON

TO

His FRIEND in EDINBURGH,

RELATING TO

The present Critical STATE of AFFAIRS,

AND

The Dangerous Antipathy that seems daily to increase between the PEOPLE of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH:

Printed in the Year M,DCC.LXIII.

A LETTER

FROM

A Member of Parliament, &c.

DEAR SIR,

EVER ſince the promotion of the Earl of Bute to the head of the Treaſury, I believe all Scotchmen in general, as well as myſelf, have paid more than common attention to the political attack that has been made upon the miniſter. The unparalleled manner of this attack, that profuſion of the meaneſt and moſt opprobrious ſcurrility, with which it has been accompanied, and, above all, the favourable reception which even the worſt of it has met with, muſt certainly give every ſenſible Scotchman ſome uneaſineſs and concern. Every man acquainted with the human heart will eaſily conceive, that by leading the paſſions in any one particular courſe, they will contract ſo obſtinate a bent, that all attempts to bring them back to their proper and natural channel will prove vain and fruitleſs. What arts have

have been uſed to inflame the minds of the Engliſh againſt their fellow ſubjects; what infamous and unfounded aſſertions have been alledged againſt the miniſter; and what vollies of filth have (unprovoked) been diſcharged upon both, let England and all Churchmen bluſh to hear! Strange! that from the church, faction ſhould always draw its moſt daring emiſſaries; that the meaneſt of all human beings, the tool of a diſappointed party, ſhould ſtill be a member of the church, and that ſuch are, in general, more inveterate, unjuſt, revengeful, and dangerous, as well as more obſequious to their employers, than any other hirelings engaged in the ſame cauſe.

England had long complained of the enormous load of taxes under which ſhe groaned, and wiſhed in vain for a Prince and Miniſter of equal virtue and œconomy; a Prince and Miniſter hearty in the ſame good cauſe, who would uſe every endeavour to eaſe the nation of its burden, and yet promote its real glory and advantage. That ſuch is our Royal Sovereign the ſons of faction believe, or pretend to believe; and ſuch was the late Miniſter his friends have always maintained; nor has faction produced one inſtance that, in the leaſt, impeaches his honour or virtues. The very manner in which the attack has been carried on againſt him, is itſelf a tacit acknowledgement of its injuſtice; for, in the whole courſe of this violent oppoſition, arguments have been altogether neglected, and a con-

ſtant

ſtant and moſt aſſiduous application made to the paſſions and prejudice of the populace. Indeed, had the people uſed the ſmalleſt degree of reflection, they muſt have remarked, that to a rapacious and ambitious miniſter (ſuch as he has been repreſented) a ſtate of war would have been the moſt proper to have accompliſhed his views. War has always been uſed by Engliſh princes and Miniſters as a glaring light to dazzle the eyes of the people, to call off their attention from affairs of ſtate, and to give employment to that reſtleſs and inquiſitive humour which always accompanies a ſpirit of liberty.

Far different was the conduct of Lord B---e; conſcious of a perfectly good intention, he (perhaps impolitically) thought that his actions would ſpeak for themſelves; and deſpiſing thoſe arts which good miniſters often find neceſſary to obtain the voice of the people, he, more than any good miniſter, became the object of popular clamour. His virtues in private life are beſt known to thoſe who have the honour of his friendſhip; his patronage and encouragement of men of genius reflect honour upon the taſte and humanity of the nation; and his love of the fine arts is an unqueſtionable mark of the goodneſs of his heart, and uprightneſs of his intentions; for the virtues and a love of the arts were never known to dwell but in the ſame breaſt.

All thoſe who ſo violently oppoſed the Miniſter may be divided into three bodies; I mean

the

the venerable mob; ſuch as have an immediate intereſt in the oppoſition; and thoſe unhappy ſpirits that ſubſiſt upon the commotions of their country. As to the firſt of theſe, that is, the mob, they, poor ſouls! know not what they do. Who does not ſee that a Prince or Miniſter, poſſeſſed of thoſe oſtentatious and glaring qualities that diſtinguiſh Mr. Pitt, could lead the mob of any country into ſlavery and bondage, were they ever ſo little left to their own guidance? In regard to the ſecond, oppoſition muſt always be looked for, whilſt ambition and intereſt have a place in the world; but I cannot help eſteeming it a moſt unmanly ſpirit in thoſe who rejoice in the heart-burning and diſcontent of the community. Fond of the brutal ſport, every new attack upon ſome perſonage of dignity and eminence is received with every token of joy and ſatisfaction; and any wretch, however abandoned to vice or diſhonour, is eagerly courted to promote their mirth, and contribute to their amuſement. To be pleaſed with ſuch ſport, appears a certain mark of a cankered and envious mind; and that it is looked upon in no other light but ſport, we cannot help inferring, as the authors of it are held in contempt or hatred, even by thoſe who condeſcend to receive this poor ſpecies of pleaſure from them.

It muſt be a diſagreeable reflection for every ſenſible Engliſhman to be obliged to confeſs, that almoſt every one of our late political papers

ſeemed

ſeemed to be the mere offſpring of ſpleen and perſonal antipathy: And altho' the freedom of the preſs is certainly the greateſt bulwark of the people's liberties, yet it is to be feared, that in time the abuſe of it will produce its downfall, or deſtroy its effects: For if the alarm-bell of ſedition be rung upon every frivolous or imaginary complaint, what are we to expect, but that, upon any juſt cauſe of fear or danger, the people will be apt to diſregard what they have been ſo often accuſtomed to hear with indifference? or who can ſay that the liberty of the preſs may not ſuffer (as that of the ſtage has already) by its exorbitant abuſe, during the management of ſome able and artful Miniſter? Let an Engliſh writer, who has nothing but his country's intereſt in view, diſcover the artifices of an ill deſigning Miniſter, he does nothing but what is the duty of every good and vigilant Citizen. He has an undoubted right to have a watchful eye upon thoſe who govern the ſtate: He may attack with boldneſs when he fights with nothing but the weapons of truth, and will have the glory of being the champion of the common cauſe of liberty. But for people with paſſion inſtead of zeal, and malice inſtead of merit, veiling their private intereſt under the ſpecious pretence of the public good, to make uſe of anonymous writings to render the Sovereign odious to his ſubjects, is a pernicious and intolerable abuſe. 'Tis turning a weapon to the deſtruction

tion of government, that ſhould never be made uſe of but for its defence: It obliges the Miniſter to divide his attention between domeſtic faction and the buſineſs of the ſtate; all the reſources he might otherwiſe have to ſupport the intereſt of his Sovereign abroad, he is obliged to employ at home to defend himſelf againſt a party that labours inceſſantly to accompliſh his ruin. Is it not obvious that thoſe who conceal themſelves have ſeldom any good intention? And as zeal for the public welfare is not afraid to appear what it really is, ſo party-ſpirit always uſes art to diſguiſe itſelf: Like hypocriſy, it is ever buſy hiding the vices it has, and aſſuming virtues it is an utter ſtranger to. There are indeed men, who, thinking of nothing but to raiſe themſelves on the ruins of their country, ſtick at no means, however infamous, to accompliſh their views. The ill-nature and ſcurrility of ſuch certainly wants a bridle to reſtrain it; by being left at liberty, it becomes a contagious diſeaſe, and of all others the moſt infectious, dangerous, and deſtructive.

O loſt to honour's voice, O doom'd to ſhame,
Thou fiend accurs'd, thou murderer of fame!
Fell raviſher, from innocence to tear
That name, than life, than liberty more dear!
Where ſhall thy baſeneſs meet its juſt return,
Or what repay thy guilt but endleſs ſcorn!
And know, immortal truth ſhall mock thy toil:
Immortal truth ſhall bid the ſhaft recoil;

With

With rage retorted, wing the deadly dart;
And empty all its poiſon in thy heart.

Had theſe ſons of faction been contented with mangling the character of the late Miniſter, he himſelf only would have had cauſe to complain; but when they indiſcriminately attacked his whole nation, in language that would diſgrace the very dregs of the people, and when this aſſault met with approbation and encouragement, it became full time for Scotchmen to look to themſelves. Shall a whole nation, honeſt and brave, ſubmit in peace to the infamous and groundleſs reproaches of a few abandoned hirelings; and can they ſee without indignation theſe reproaches received and approved by numbers of the people? It is true, all general and undiſtinguiſhed charges are equally diſregarded and condemned by men of good ſenſe and underſtanding; But in every nation theſe are but few compared with the ignorant, the paſſionate, and the vain. Indeed, did thoſe who are the moſt ready to encourage and foſter this abuſe, conſider or pay the leaſt regard to the quarter whence it iſſues, they would not (I am perſuaded) drink ſo plentifully of a ſtream that runs from ſo foul a ſpring. In all courts of juſtice, great regard is had to the character and reputation of the witneſs who gives evidence. Why then may not Scotland have the ſame juſtice, when ſhe deſires the world would conſider that

two of her buſieſt enemies are men not to be matched in the ſtate for infamy and diſhonour. The one is known, and always mentioned, by the name of *the dirty fellow*, in the honourable houſe, where it is a ſhame he ſhould ſit; and the other * is at once ſo infamous, ſo abandon-

ed,

* Horſefleſh the ſatyriſt. In Horſefleſh we may admire the powerful effects of a proper application to our natural bent; for with little or no merit, beſide the aids furniſhed him by his matchleſs rancour and malevolence, he has obtained the voice of all baſe and barbarous groundlings. Horſefleſh's grandfather was a ſerjeant in Oliver's army, to which noble rank he raiſed himſelf (from a gentleman of rank and file) by executing the cruel orders of his officers with the moſt brutal rigour; and expreſſing at all times the utmoſt hatred to royalty and civil government. This brave man's ſon, and the father of the preſent Horſefleſh, was a noted country-tinker, known by the name of *Cripple-Ben*, from a lameneſs he received at a bear-beating in Glouceſterſhire. When young Horſefleſh had reached his twelfth year, ſeveral callings were propoſed to him by his father, of all which he liked the butcher beſt. It had been well if, in this way, nature had had its courſe; and that his trade had been ſhedding the blood of animals, rather than butchering characters of the faireſt hue. Surely nature never acted more conſiſtently than in dictating this choice to Horſefleſh; nor was ever mind and body better ſuited to one another than are our hero's.

Hence the greaſy, clumſy mien
In his dreſs and figure ſeen;
Hence the mean and ſordid ſoul,
Like his body rank and foul;
Hence that wild ſuſpicious peep,
Like a rogue that ſteals a ſheep,
Like a butcher doom'd for life
In his mouth to wear his knife;
Hence he draws his daily food,
From his tenants vital blood. SWIFT.

But a far different ſtation was ordained for our Hero; for being on a time at a public-houſe, where a learned Dean was engaged in a diſpute, in which he would maintain that *impuritas* ſignified wit;

found

ed, and ſo baſe, that ſuch as he, bearing a ſacred office in any Chriſtian church, brings a greater ſtain on religion than the objections of all the infidels of all the countries in Europe.

What a ſhame to the Engliſh nation that, like the lion, they ſhould have jackalls employed to ſtart them prey, which, like the lion, they indiſcriminately devour and gorge! Where is the man that can hear himſelf groſly abuſed, his honour doubted, and his regard for the welfare of the community called in queſtion; yet peaceably ſubmit to the unjuſt and ſhameful reproach?

young Horſefleſh, by inſtinct, ſupported the Churchman's cauſe. From that day the Dean, taking him under his care, promiſed to provide for him in the church: and ſurely never was ſhe curſed with a more unworthy ſon; inſtead of the meekneſs of the goſpel, he poſſeſſes all the rancour of an enraged Jew; and although he at all times profeſſes the greateſt veneration for truth, yet it is well known he baſely acted the part of a hypocrite for a long courſe of years. Afraid too ſoon to ſhew himſelf, he did not pull off the maſk till a fair opportunity offered of changing his ſtation; when, from a preacher of peace, he became inſtantly (what nature formed him) a baſe ſower of ſedition, the tool of a deſpairing party, and a propagator of falſhood, calumny, and malice. Whenever he ventures out of the way of his own proper walk, *night* and dullneſs reign round him; no ghoſt in the ſhades is more fleeting, airy, or unſubſtantial. In rage and ſelf-importance a *Dennis*; in filth and ſcurrility a *Deſoe*; the matter which he emits (by ſome called wit) ſtinks worſe than the humour that iſſue from putrid ſores. His malice would often have brought upon him the diſcipline of the pump or horſe-pond, had not thoſe he has abuſed been perſuaded, for his greater puniſhment, to leave him to himſelf; as a maniac who meets with no oppoſition, will ſoon wreck his rage upon his own perſon, perhaps with a caſe-knife, or an halter. Like *Dennis*, he is diſturbed with imaginary danger; for in the courſe of his general abuſe, having plentifully beſpattered the Scotch, at ſight of any one of that nation, he quickly turns him round, or takes down the firſt lane or alley he can find. Like *Deſoe*, he has left his own proper employment to follow the lampooning trade; heaven grant, like Deſoe, he may not loſe his ears; and here let *Bob Birch*, *Jack*

It is with no little indignation a man of honour and ſpirit reflects upon ſuch unwarrantable uſage; and in return for the countenance that has been given to this ſcoundrel-like proceeding, I muſt beg leave to preſent an Engliſhman the following true and faithful mirrour, as juſt as the life itſelf.

It is true the love of our country, which nature has ingrafted on every heart, is a virtue in the higheſt degree, and abſolutely neceſſary for the welfare of every community. But vanity, ſelf-love, and prejudice, may ſo warp the judgment, and diſfigure this virtue, as to render it in ſome nations highly ridiculous and contemptible. If a foreigner, who arrives in England, is ever ſo well diſpoſed to entertain a favourable opinion of the natives, he too ſoon has cauſe to be aſtoniſhed, and ſurpriſed, at the monſtrous exceſs of their unmanly prejudices. Far from confining the merit to particular excellencies, they would be thought to excell all mankind in all things; and altho' their ſavageneſs and want of taſte are almoſt proverbial thro' Europe, yet do they look upon themſelves as matchleſs in matters of taſte, and in good-nature the firſt people of the univerſe.

Rouſſeau (one of the greateſt philoſophers in Europe, and whoſe knowledge of human nature is univerſally reſpected) has given his opinion of this nation, as a people cruel, ſavage, and unkind. A foreigner, who is perhaps unwilling to acknow-

ledge

lege all the merit an Englishman affects to claim, is sure to obtain his enmity and contempt; but every Englishman is the friend of him who acknowledges the superiority of the nation. Nothing do I know (will an Englishman say) of other nations, having never travelled; but this I know, that England is in every respect the richest of all countries.

The people of Lower Brittany believe that their language derives its origin from the Tower of Babel; and a certain Swedish author pretends, that it is to Sweden we owe the first discoveries in sciencies and arts: thus the more unwise the man, the more apt is he to claim transcendent, or unlimited praise, to himself and nation.

Notwithstanding the English entertain a mean opinion of all other countries, such is the excess of their self-complacency, that they conceive all nations upon earth regard them as of a superior nature; and I believe nothing could convince an Englishman but ocular demonstration, that a French writer should talk of them in the following terms: he declares *they are a people which he abhors*; and that *he looks upon them among the other nations of Europe, as wolves among the different species of animals.* But *Guy Patin*, the author of this, is little esteemed in France, for the same reason that the English would have held him in high repute, I mean for his violent national prejudices. Interest and Pride are the ruling movements in the mind of an Englishman. The Scotch might

might live in peace and unmolested, did not their rising merit cause jealousy in this unkind and unsocial nation. Chearfulness and sweetness of temper they are utter strangers to. An Englishman is never so happy as during some violent commotion of the state; it requires something more than common to keep his dull and sluggish spirits in motion. Notwithstanding all their pretensions to philosophy, they are utterly unacquainted with what chiefly merits the name, the true art of living happy. The social and endearing virtues reside not in their hearts. Do but examine the face of an Englishman (a certain type of his mind) all is rough, harsh, forbidding, and discouraging. A taste for the fine arts, which constantly marks out the well-attuned mind, you seek for in vain in this kingdom: in vain are the seeds imported hither, this is not their proper or natural Soil; if they shoot a few roots, they are soon killed by productions of bad taste, the plant that thrives and multiplies most abundantly in this country.

Whoever hopes to please an Englishman, will soon or late find all his labour in vain. The French are chattering baboons, and talk too much; the Scotch are sullen and censorious, and talk too little; but whoever has dined at an English ordinary, will find more reserve, censure, dullness, and unsociableness, than in any other people upon earth. Notwithstanding this general complaint and dissatisfaction with other na-

tions,

tions, they have very little real love of their own; all is envious, ſelfiſh, and little; and I am perſuaded, in any great exigency of ſtate, there is hardly a nation in Europe where the members of the community would do ſo little for the general good. Hoſpitality, that certain touchſtone of a nation's virtues, is here almoſt utterly unknown; inſomuch that if you are invited to a perſon's houſe, you muſt diſcharge your dinner by paying the ſervants, whilſt the maſter ſtands by and looks on: nay, there is nothing more common, than when an inferior gueſt ſhall happen to dine at a great man's table, to have a bottle of port, or ſome common wine, laid before him, whilſt my Lord and his noble friends drink off their claret without any ſenſe of ſhame: beſides, we may add, to the honour of the nation, that at a great man's table the Chaplain muſt retire when the niceſt diſhes are ready to be brought in. But how much ſoever an Engliſhman may begrudge his friend good cheer, he is by no means a niggard to himſelf. Let the annals of England tell how many more of her princes have died by gluttony than the ſword; and let the phyſicians declare how many citizens of London daily die martyrs to their belly, with all the other brutal conſequences of a city-feaſt. Is there a modern Engliſhman, who for a feaſt would not barter all thoſe invaluable liberties his anceſtors obtained him? Gorge but one of them to the throat, and he will give up liberty, friends, and country, for this truly noble

noble pleaſure, in which England has no equal upon earth.

So great is the blind overweening pride of this people, that they are always beſt pleaſed to find a foreigner of a contemptible character and appearance; the leſs ſuch a one is eſteemed, the more is he ſought after and courted; and they are rejoiced to find particular inſtances to juſtify their contempt for a whole nation. So utterly deſtitute are they of any idea of impartiality, that ſhould a perſon give due praiſe to any particular nation, he is conſidered as little leſs than a rebel, and runs no ſmall riſque of receiving ſome brutiſh token of their diſpleaſure. If they once conceive a prejudice, they will not even read what can be ſaid in your defence; and you will be under a neceſſity of making uſe of ſome artifice to decoy them into a hearing of what you have to ſay. All nations on earth are regarded by them with an equal degree of contempt or hatred, which they are not at all ſollicitous to conceal; and upon the ſlighteſt provocation, or even without any, they will expreſs their antipathy in ſuch terms as theſe, *a chattering French baboon, an Italian ape, a beaſtly Dutchman*, and *a German hog*; which laſt they ſhould certainly have kept for themſelves, to which none ſurely have ſo good a title. Nay, their prepoſſeſſion is not a whit leſs againſt the people with whom they are united under the ſame laws and government; for nothing is more common than to

hear

hear the expreſſions *beggarly Scot*, and *impudent Iriſh thief*, uttered with equal malice and ſpite againſt theſe their fellow ſubjects. The very women and children are taught and encouraged to carry on this civil war of words. Excellent and admirable diſpoſition of mind! Whilſt foreigners of affluence and fortune are deterred from ſetting foot in England, on account of this well-known and notorious barbarity of manners, they reſort to France in infinite numbers, where they ſpend their time and money amongſt a people more kind, more obliging, more ſocial, and alſo more political. Even the Engliſh nobility and people of fortune reſort in great numbers to France, in ſearch of true happineſs, which their countrymen are ſo little acquainted with, and ſo little diſpoſed to cultivate or improve.

To obtain the good graces of an Engliſhman there is only one way, which is by the avenue of flattery and adulation; for any pliant French valet, who can reduce himſelf to a proper ſtate of humility and ſubmiſſion, is ſure to obtain the management of ſome great man's houſe, and to lead his whole family by the noſe.

So quarrelſome and diſſatisfied is the min dof an Engliſhman, that if he is excluded an opportunity of expreſſing his hatred againſt foreigners, he will certainly fall out with ſome of his own countrymen for not being born where he was; nay, there are certain counties in England,

 which

which if it is a man's misfortune to be born in, he will find it a hard matter, in some companies, to remove the prejudices that are conceived against him.

Such is the exceeding depravity of this people, that there is scarce a laudable motive to human action, which is not totally extinct among them. Patriotism, or love of our country, is even become the sport of the common people, as it has long been the subject of ridicule to those in high life. Even Religion has no longer interest enough to create a dispute in its favour; people of almost every rank being possessed of a rooted and perfect indifference, on that, and every other subject, whose actuating motives are not little, mean, and mercenary.

There is not a vice or folly, to which an Englishman is subject, that his vanity will not construe into a merit or virtue. If you say an Englishman is rough and brutal, he will tell you, it is a certain token of courage and liberty; altho' he, who has the smallest knowledge of human nature, knows, that a coward is always brutal and turbulent; or at least, that he, who is brutal and turbulent, is seldom a man of courage.

Whoever has seen a man stand in the pillory in England, must for ever forego the humanity of this nation: But, perhaps, it will be said, the heinousness of such crimes, as merit the pillory, cannot be punished with too great a degree of

severity

ſeverity. Was this then the caſe with one Carey, a drayman, who, ſeveral years ago, was pillor'd for a moſt unnatural vice, and who (it was obſerved by the news-monger) had been remarkably buſy in pelting moſt unmercifully, a man, who, for the ſame crime, had been raiſed to that too common and horrid pre-eminence? Was it, I ſay, in this man, a ſenſe of the unnatural crime of the offender, that cauſed his uncommon zeal; or was it not that natural and brutal barbarity, which we all know to be inherent in baſe and ſord'd ſouls.

Were a man diſpoſed to ranſack the public news-papers, thoſe repoſitories of Engliſh virtue, what would he think of the modeſty of this nation, which ſo boldly claims a ſuperior ſhare of merit and virtues? And altho' every news-paper teems with proofs of the moſt abandoned people, with vices the moſt unnatural, deſtructive, and dangerous to ſociety; yet, thanks to their matchleſs ſelf-importance, they remain altogether blind to their own demerits. To hear them talk of themſelves, one would conceive them to be a nation of warriours, and men of honour. Perhaps, indeed, it is ſo; perhaps, in England, there are no pimps, paraſites, nor panders, no thieves, infidels, blaſphemers, ſodomites, nor falſe-ſwearers: How unjuſtly and falſly then are they accuſed? for even in laſt night's London Chronicle, which now lies before me, there is a letter from a man who offers

to

to ſwear through thick and thin, at certain ſtated rates; and alſo, to engage his wife to do the ſame, and at the ſame price. There is alſo, in the ſame paper, an account of one Samuel Ray, an old notorious offender, who, having deluded into a moſt unnatural vice, many young, poor, and ignorant boys, was admitted to bail, upon the ſmall conſideration of 100*l.* advanced by his brother, a man of a very conſiderable fortune; of ſo trifling a nature doth even this moſt unnatural vice ſeem to be regarded.

Of all the various matters which the Engliſh are apt to boaſt of, the happy conſtitution of their country is certainly the beſt founded ſubject of exultation; yet notwithſtanding their acknowledged ſuperiority in this reſpect, it is apparently evident, that had it been their fortune, at ſome certain periods of time, inſtead of a Prince, timid and weak, to have had a King, brave, ambitious, reſolute, oſtentatious, and wiſe, their liberties would long ago have fallen a ſacrifice to that Prince's ambition, and at this day they might have been one of the moſt enſlaved nations in Europe. Did ever a prince upon earth reign more deſpotically than Henry the eighth reigned in England? In his time, ſays an Engliſh author, "The voice of the law was but the echo of the "king." Nor, indeed, was liberty more known in England, in the reign of the great Elizabeth: During her life, as often as any member of the Houſe of Commons gave her the ſmalleſt cauſe

of

of displeasure, she would order them instantly to be taken from their seats in parliament, and committed to the Tower; and, upon being petitioned to release them, the house would receive in answer, That they were committed for reasons best known to the Queen, and that they would be delivered up when her Majesty should think proper. Nay, even such language as the following, (language never uttered but in the most enslaved country) was the English House of Commons accustomed peaceably to hear: "All we "have (said Serjeant Heyle in a debate) is her "Majesty's, and she may lawfully, at her plea-"sure, take it from us; yea, she hath as much "right to all our lands and goods, as to any of "the revenues of her crown." Such was the language then in use; surely more worthy of a Turkish Divan than of the so much boasted English House of Commons. Indeed, during the whole of this long reign, every action of the Queen testified the most unlimited power, as every action of the subject did the most slavish abasement and submission. Thus do we see, that, when the spirit of the English encounters vigorous and able measures, they can be as mean as any nation upon earth; but, if their King should chance to be a good, gentle, humane, and benevolent Prince, let the instance of the unhappy Charles the first evince to what extremities their inhumanity will reach.

But if the English have had the good fortune to escape the chains that have so often been forged

ged for them; corruption in this country will certainly effect what in others hath been brought about by the ambition of Princes. In England there is nothing ſo common as to throw the whole blame upon the Miniſter of every ſtep taken, or every tax laid on diſagreeable to the people. What more than this could be done was the Parliament for ever diſſolved; or wherein conſiſts the nature of a deſpotic government but in this, that the will of one man is a law to the nation? It was a common ſaying of a great Miniſter of ſtate, talking of the Houſe of Commons, "That he could have all the votes of the Houſe "if he would; but that he contented himſelf "with buying only as many as were neceſſary "to make himſelf maſter of it." O venal country, that would ſoon be ſold, were there a purchaſer rich enough to be found!

Having already given proof to what degrees of meanneſs the Engliſh may be reduced, let us ſee how they appear, attended with ſucceſs and proſperity. Here, I am afraid, we ſhall find them, in the higheſt pitch, inſolent and oppreſſive, as well as impolitic: for having, in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, obtained dominion over Ireland, principally by means of the internal diviſions that ſubſiſted among the petty princes of that country, they obſerved a conduct, during their rule, that has not a parallel in hiſtory.

"Moſt of the inſtitutions (ſays an Engliſh "hiſtorian) by which Ireland was governed,

"were,

" were, to the laſt degree, abſurd, and ſuch as
" no ſtate before had ever thought of for pre-
" ſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.
" The ſmall army which they maintained in Ire-
" land they never ſupplied regularly with pay;
" and, as no money could be levied from the
" iſland, which poſſeſſed none, they gave their
" ſoldiers the privilege of free-quarter upon the
" natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the
" hatred which prevailed between the conquer-
" ors and the conquered; want of ſecurity a-
" mong the Iriſh introducing deſpair, nouriſhed
" ſtill farther the ſloth ſo natural to an unculti-
" vated people.

" But the Engliſh carried further their ill-
" judged tyranny. Inſtead of inviting the Iriſh
" to adopt the more civilized manners of their
" conquerors, they even refuſed, tho' earneſtly
" ſollicited, to communicate to them the privi-
" lege of their laws, and every-where marked
" them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown
" out of the protection of juſtice, the natives
" could find ſecurity no-where but in force, and
" flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they
" could not approach with ſafety, they ſheltered
" themſelves in their marſhes and foreſts from
" the inſolence of their unhuman maſters.

" Being treated like wild beaſts they became
" ſuch, and, joining the ardor of revenge to their
" yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day
" more intractable and more dangerous.

" As

"As the Engliſh Princes eſteemed the con-
"queſt of the diſperſed Iriſh to be more the ob-
"ject of time and patience than the ſource of
"military glory, they willingly delegated that
"office to private adventurers, who, enliſting
"ſoldiers at their own charge, conquered pro-
"vinces of that iſland, which they converted to
"their own profit. Separate juriſdictions and
"principalities were eſtabliſhed by theſe lordly
"conquerors; the power of peace and war was
"aſſumed; military law was exerciſed over the
"Iriſh whom they ſubdued. Hence, even at
"the end of the ſixteenth century, when almoſt
"every Chriſtian nation was cultivating with ar-
"dor, all the civil arts of life, that iſland, lying
"in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil,
"acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innume-
"rable harbours, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe
"advantages, inhabited by a people whoſe cu-
"ſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe
"of ſavages than barbarians."

Thus far having endeavoured to point out the merits and character of the Engliſh, let us next take a view of the ſuppoſed advantages which Scotland is ſaid to have reaped by the union of the two kingdoms.

When Henry the ſeventh was deliberating, in council, the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with the King of Scotland, ſome objected that England, by means of that alliance, might fall under the dominion of Scotland: "No, replied

"Henry,

" Henry, in that event Scotland would only be-
" come an acceſſion to England." Such every man muſt have foreſeen, who had the ſmalleſt knowledge of the affairs of nations. What elſe has been, or poſſibly can be, the conſequence of an union between a powerful people and another ſo much inferior in every thing that conſtitutes the ſtrength of nations, namely, riches, power, fertility, and number of inhabitants? What elſe has been the fate of Scotland, but to be, as it were, ſwallowed up in the name of her more powerful neighbour? What elſe but this proſpect inſpired the Scotch with ſo much antipathy to the Union, which the Engliſh ſo often courted and deſired, both nations being ſenſible of all the conſequences that would attend it? Indeed ſo averſe were they in general to this impolitic meaſure, that the Engliſh miniſtry, ſeconded by the principal of the Scotch nobility, deſpaired of ever accompliſhing their purpoſe. The whole nation, during the continuance of this tranſaction, was in the moſt violent commotion and diſorder; warlike preparations were making in every part of the kingdom; and, had the nobility in general been as averſe as the body of the people were to this affair, in all probability, it never would have been accompliſhed.

The advantages reſulting to England, from this meaſure, were great and numerous. The government of England, even after the union of the crowns, could never be ſafe, whilſt

Scotland remained a ſeparate and diſtinct kingdom, at liberty to make laws, ſet up trading companies, or raiſe forces at her pleaſure; nor was the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover ſecure, while the parliament of Scotland had an indubitable right to depart from that meaſure; and a ſtrong party was actually formed for that purpoſe. By uniting the intereſts of both kingdoms, England obtained much greater force, and conſequently much greater weight and importance abroad. The advantage of bringing both nations under one form of government, the ſeat of which being fixed in England, the Nobles of both nations would reſort thither, and every advantage that might accrue to Scotland, muſt of conſequence center there. The well-known turn of the Scotch to arms, their bravery, and neglect of trade, gave a ſtrong aſſurance, and has been verified in the event, that the army and navy of England, would draw infinite aſſiſtance from thence, whilſt her trade would continue without any rivalſhip. Theſe were conſiderations ſo high in themſelves, and of ſuch certainty in their conſequences, that the bulk of the Engliſh nation eagerly embraced the meaſure, and thought they could not ſet the purchaſe at too high a rate.

The advantages reſulting to Scotland from the Union were certainly far leſs demonſtrable. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce ſaddled with heavy duties and reſtrictions

tions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. From the great majority of English members in parliament, they had nothing to expect but discouragement in every branch of trade that might happen to clash with that of England. They foresaw that being deprived of all the objects that refine or animate a people, of the presence of their prince, of the concourse of nobles, of the splendor and elegance of a court, an universal dejection of spirit would certainly prevail; and the trade of the nation, deprived of all these animating objects, instead of flourishing would decay away. It was besides dreaded, that men of spirit and ambition, the fittest to promote the trade and advantage of the country, would many of them go abroad, or follow the court, and resort to England, between which kingdom and Scotland, till then there had been but little intercourse. All this, as was foreseen in Scotland, has accordingly fallen out. Yet notwithstanding all these considerations, when in the course of a war, in which the Scotch fought with a degree of courage, at least equal to any of their fellow subjects; when in every thing they testified the same regard and attachment to their common country; when their fidelity, spirit, and honour, has not received a stain; at this time a Scotchman was called to the head of affairs by his Sovereign; this nobleman's private life, in every respect, baffles the severest scrutiny of envy itself;

ſelf; as his capacity has been demonſtrated in a manner that will hereafter adorn the hiſtorian's page. Yet no ſooner had this nobleman aſſumed the management of affairs, than every tool of faction and defamation was at work againſt him. Every infamous means were made uſe of to raiſe the contagion of diſcontent and hatred in the minds of the people. That curſed contagion which ſpread among the infatuated Hollanders, and brought upon them the guilt of ſhedding the blood of the glorious *De Witts*, the moſt virtuous, wiſe, and juſt citizens Europe ever ſaw; and whoſe fame and misfortunes will never die. Little leſs had like to have been the fate of the nobleman in queſtion, and, let me add, little leſs are either his merit or his virtues. Curſed be that man whoſe ear is ever open to the baſeſt and moſt ſlanderous reflections, but deaf to the voice of truth and innocence. How many there are of that caſt in England, I have already declared my opinion; and, let me add, that I ſincerely wiſh this our forced and jarring friendſhip were entirely diſſolved. Then would England feel the want of that power, by the force of whoſe arms, almoſt in an equal degree, hath the glory of the nation been raiſed and maintained: And then perhaps would the moſt prepoſſeſſed and prejudiced Engliſhman repent of his brutal conduct, and feel, with compunction, the truth and juſtice of the following obſervations of one of the beſt and wiſeſt of his own countrymen.

"Whenever

" Whenever (ſays Lord Littleton) I read an
" account of the wars between the Engliſh and
" the Scotch, I think I am reading a melan-
" choly hiſtory of civil diſſentions. Whichever
" ſide is defeated, their loſs appears to me a loſs
" to the whole, and an advantage to ſome fo-
" reign enemy of Great Britain. But the
" ſtrength of that iſland is made by the Union
" complete, and ſuperior to all other powers.
" What a great Engliſh poet has ſaid in one in-
" ſtance, is now true in all:

" The Hotſpur and the Douglas both together
" Are confident againſt the world in arms."

" Who can reſiſt Engliſh and Scotch valour
" combined? When ſeparated and oppoſed, they
" balance each other: united, they hold the
" balance of Europe. If all the Scotch blood
" that has been ſhed for the French, had been
" poured out to oppoſe their ambition; if all
" the Engliſh blood that has been ſpilt in wars
" againſt Scotland, had been preſerved, France
" would have long ago been rendered incapable
" of diſturbing our peace, and Great Britain
" would have been the firſt nation in Europe.

" The Scotch were not made to be ſubject to
" England, or any other power. Their ſouls
" were too great, their ſpirits too high, for ſuch
" a dependence. Their generous ſcorn of a

" foreign

" foreign yoke, their ſtrong love of indepen-
" dence and freedom, made their Union with
" England more natural and more proper. Had
" the ſpirit of the Scotch been ſervile or baſe,
" it could not have coalited with that of the
" Engliſh. The minds of both nations are
" formed in much the ſame mould. They are
" congenial, and filled with the ſame noble
" virtues, the ſame impatience of ſervitude, the
" ſame magnanimity, courage, and prudence,
" the ſame genius for policy, ſciences, arts.

" And ſo much have the minds of the Scotch
" profited by the ſettled peace and tranquillity
" produced by the Union, that they have diſ-
" covered ſuch talents in all branches of litera-
" ture, as might render the Engliſh jealous of
" being excelled by their genius, if there could
" remain a competition, when there remains
" no diſtinction between the two nations. May
" there ever ſubſiſt a laudable emulation, with-
" out any mean jealouſy! and the efforts which
" that emulation will cauſe, may render our
" iſland ſuperior to Italy or Greece, in the fame
" of wit and good learning, as well as that ac-
" quired by arms."

Such we ſee are the ſentiments of a noble-
man, much admired for his merits as well as his
virtues. This is not the language of faction, e-
ver mercenary and ever changing, but the pure
effuſions of juſtice, truth, and conviction. In-
deed,

deed, for every hireling, who in the heat of rage and party, ſhall loſe all ſight of truth and impartiality; or thoſe who, to ſerve their views of intereſt and ambition, may abuſe and defame that nation, I will produce authors, who, in the cool retreat of ſtudy and philoſophy, have vouched for its merit with equal warmth and regard. Theſe are the works that never die, that are admired and read with pleaſure, when the underſtanding is cleared from the miſts of heat, of paſſion, and of prejudice, that cloud and intercept the judgment in the times of furious faction and diſpute.

Of all thoſe who have contributed to encreaſe the ferment of the nation, the city of London hath certainly held the principal part. Headed by their factious writers*, they have conſtantly kept up the cry of party and diſcontent. Ignorant of the firſt principles of politics, they decide like dictators upon the moſt difficult and arduous matters of ſtate. Utterly unacquainted with war, and its attendants, want, danger, and diſtreſs, what bloody battles do they fight at home in the lap of eaſe, peace, and affluence; and whilſt the brave men of both nations, who have ſeen and experienced

* How little regard theſe writers have for the city, every one muſt obſerve; for whilſt Churchill, (one of the authors of the North Briton) to ſerve his party, ſhall flatter the city, in his poem of the *Ghoſt* (where he ſpeaks his real ſentiments) he treats the citizens with the greateſt contempt and deriſion almoſt in every page.

experienced the courage of each other in the field and on the ocean, incorporate and converſe like brethren, like ſoldiers, and like fellow ſubjects; the pampered ſons of affluence and eaſe, treat with contempt thoſe who have added many a glory to the honour of the land.

Such, indeed, for ſome time paſt hath been the ſtate of parties, that I could have wiſhed Lord B--- had reſigned all connection with the government, had proper meaſures been uſed to bring about that end. But when inſtead of fair and candid means of effecting this purpoſe, and when no material fault could be alledged againſt the Miniſter, the moſt ſcandalous arts were practiſed to involve him in a general diſgrace, which hath been moſt aſſiduouſly endeavoured to bring upon his country; a diſgrace which, by the ſame arts of marking out, and violently exaggerating every fault and demerit, and carefully obſerving to mention none of its virtues, might be effectually brought upon any nation of the earth, at leaſt in the eye of ignorance, paſſion, and prejudice; when ſuch an unparalleled conduct as this was deſerved, a reſignation muſt appear a ſacrifice made of the rights of his country, to the ſhameful arts of party and ambition. To what unjuſt and infamous arts will not party and ambition reduce its votaries? But the day will come that impartial hiſtory will take a view of the motives

tives and merit of all their actions: then many a wretch, snatched by infamy from the grave of oblivion, will be delivered down to future generations, marked with every token of dishonour and disgrace. One thing, however, during this whole transaction, hath given me no small degree of pleasure, that altho' the stupid, the young, and the giddy, equally fond of a playhouse-riot or a disturbance in the state, have sided with the seditious; yet those who are most remarkable for their judgment, and whom years have divested of all violence of passion, I have always found ready to condemn and disapprove, in the highest degree, the shameful arts that have lately been practised. Such men as these I have often heard say, "As Englishmen, as Scotchmen, let us "serve our country; as men let us treat one a-"nother as brethren; let us bear no hatred to "any but those who (of whatever nation they "happen to be) dare break through the sacred "bands that bind men together."

I am, &c.